S. Forbes, C. J. F., Capt.
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LEGENDARY HISTORY

OF

BURMA AND ARAKAN

BY

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PREFACE.

THE history of the Burman and Talaing countries has been already narrated by several writers. Crawfurd and Burney were the first to bring before European readers the annals of the Burmese, but these writers only incidentally deal with their neighbours the Talaings, and there are great discrepancies in the chronological tables furnished by each of them. Next Dr. Mason, in his valuable compendium of everything relating to Burma, has given two abstracts, one of Talaing, the other of Burmese history. Sir Arthur Phayre, to whom British Burma owes so much, has published, in the journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, two valuable essays on the "History of the Burma Race" and on the "History of Pegu." There are besides slight historical sketches in other works such as those in Father Sangermano's *Burmese Empire* and Yule's *Embassy to the Court of Ava.* But there is no short history embracing in one connected series a general and comprehensive view of the events happening contemporaneously within the area of what was known before the English occupation of Pegu as the "Burman Empire."

Dr. Mason's dates are often confused and his facts incorrect in the earlier parts of the history. Sir Arthur Phayre's interesting essays are incomplete and, moreover, treat of Arakanese, Burmese, and Talaing history separately in scattered numbers of a scientific journal not generally accessible.

In framing the following slight sketch, while advantage has been taken of the labours of all the above authors, and the opinions of Sir Arthur Phayre especially have been given their due weight, the actual facts have been taken from the existing Talaing and Burmese histories, and the dates obtained by checking one with the other.

There exist a number of local chronicles of the petty dynasties which have at various times established themselves in different

parts of the country. Thus there is a Thatone history, a Martaban history, a Prome history, a Pagan history, and several others. The commencement of all these is generally a mixture of fable and fact, not always easy to separate, tending to glorify the founder of the city or dynasty, but each helps to confirm or check the others in points where they mutually converge. The writer has collated by means of translations from the *original* Talaing manuscripts several of these epochal histories of the Talaing nation, and has compiled the Burman portion of the history from the works above mentioned corrected in some cases from a copy of the *Razawingyoke*, or "Compendium of the chronicles of the Kings," belonging to a Mandalay ponegyee.

With regard to the wonderful fables with which the earlier parts of these records are filled, should any deem on their account the whole narrative untrustworthy, we would ask whether on the same grounds we should also blot out several pages of early English history, the authorities for which are the equally fable-mongering "early chronicles."

No national traditions are without their meaning, if we could find it, and because we cannot do so at once to dismiss them as utterly useless and false is both unwise and unscholarly.

C. J. F. S. F.

LEGENDARY HISTORY OF BURMA AND ARAKAN.

ALL Talaing and Burmese chronology depends on the era of the nirvana of Gaudama. On this point all Buddhist nations are not agreed, the Tibetan, the Chinese, and the Japanese having each a date differing from the other and also from that adopted by the Singhalese, the Burmans, Talaings, Shans, and other nations of Indo-China.

European scholars have been equally divided, but the date now generally accepted by them is that used by the Buddhists of Burma, which will place this event in the year 543 before Christ. This is the year 1 of the sacred Buddhist era, so that the present year, A.D. 1878, answers to the year 2421 of the Burman sacred era.

Late researches in India seem, however, to prove that there is an error of 65 years in this date. Among the ruins at the ancient famous Buddhist temple of Buddha-Gaya has been discovered an inscription in the words "in the year 1819 of the emancipation of "Bhagavata, on Wednesday, the 1st day of the waning moon of "Kartik." According to the Burman reckoning this date answers to A.D. 1276. But the day of the week and the day of the moon being both given, it is by calculation easy to tell whether in any given year they so coincide. This calculation has been made by a learned Hindu astronomer, and it is found that the 1st day of the waning moon of Kartik in A.D. 1276 fell on a Friday, but in A.D. 1341 it fell on Wednesday, the 7th October, which would place the beginning of the Buddhist era, that is, the date of the nirvana of Gaudama, in the year 478 B. C.

We shall, however, in the following pages use the commonly received date in order to prevent confusion or mistake.

The countries which by Europeans are often confused and comprehended under the general name of "Burma" consist of the three great divisions of Arakan, Pegu, and Burma, which formerly constituted three distinct empires, even when at times sub-divided into several petty States.

Arakan comprised what now forms the British division of Arakan, and as far as Cape Negrais. Pegu, or the Talaing Kingdom,

seems in ancient times to have extended from a little below the city of Prome to the south coast as far as the Martaban Point. Burma comprehended the country north of Pegu, and eastward from Arakan, Cathay or Munipur, and Assam to the borders of China and Northern Siam. Its northern boundaries in early times would be difficult to define. This description is not of course intended as an accurate geographical definition of each of these countries.

The Burmese and Arakan *Razawin*, or History of Kings, goes back to the origin of the present world, even alluding to those before, as taught in the Buddhist religious books. There is nothing to interest any reader, as may be seen from the commencement of the second part of the so-called history, which thus sums up what has gone before:—

"In the first part we have narrated the history of the Kings, "commencing from Maha Thamada up to the time of the Excellent "Para Gaudama, there being 334,569 Kings in regular succession."

This is the fabulous part of the history and is merely copied from the Buddhist books brought together with the religion from India. The next part may be termed the legendary history of Burma, that is, it consists of a series of ancient traditions, which, although we cannot accept all the details as true, seem to contain some of the important facts of the early history of the race handed down from the earliest times in the shape of legends or stories. This portion commences at an indefinite date before the birth of Gaudama. But as a line of 31 Kings are enumerated from the foundation of the monarchy to the latter event, if we only allow an average of ten years to each reign, this will carry us back to the ninth century before Christ.

"At this time," says the Native history, "there was a war "between the King of Kawthala (or Oude) and the Thakya Princes "of Kawleeya, Daywadaha, and Kappeelawoot (the country around "Fyzabad). The Thakya Kings were subdued, and one of them, "the Prince of Kappeelawoot, Abeeraza by name, with his army left "the Myitzeemapyee (or middle country) and marched eastward. "Having crossed the Thallawadee river (the Chindwin river) "they rested on the west bank of the Irrawaddy river, and crossing "over that settled in Thingatharata, the city now called Tagoung."

This traditionary origin of the Burman race from the country of central Gangetic India has been ridiculed by most European writers, even by Sir A. Phayre, as utterly unfounded. The subject is too uncertain and surrounded with difficulties to admit of being treated of here, but it may be remarked that all our latest information tends to show that the Burmans and Talaings came into their present countries from the westward, and probably through the

valley of the Ganges. Until therefore the contrary can be proved, it seems only reasonable to accept the tradition of the migration of the chief part of the Burman race and their Princes from some part of Northern India. But when the Burmese historians go on to connect their first Kings with the Rajput Princes who reigned in the States of Kawthala and Kappeelawoot at the time Gaudama was born, and believe the Burman people to be of the same race as the inhabitants of that region of India, they only show their utter ignorance of any countries or people except themselves. The Rajputs and their subjects belong to the Indo-Germanic race, to which also the English, the French, the Germans and other nations of Europe belong, while the Burmans are of the Mongolian race, of which the Talaings, Shans, Siamese, and Chinese form also a part. Both their bodily characteristics and their language when compared prove the utter want of connection between the Burman and Rajput races. This pretended origin of their Kings was no doubt the invention of courtly historians to flatter the pride and vanity of royal minds after the conversion of the nation to Buddhism.

The ruins of Tagoung still exist and there is no reason for doubting that it was the earliest seat of the Burman monarchy. After the death of Abeeraza his two sons, Kanrazagyee and Kanrazangeh, disputed the crown, but agreed as a means to settle the question that each should build a religious edifice, and that he who first completed the work should succeed to their father's throne. The younger brother, Kanrazangeh, had recourse to stratagem, and in one night with bamboos and plastered cloth erected a pagoda, on seeing which, without examination, Kanrazagyee departed at once with his adherents westward and settled at Kalaydoung on the west bank of the Chindwin river. Here they were joined by the kindred tribes of the Pyoo and Thet, who seem to have been at that time in possession of the middle Irrawaddy valley. The remains of this latter tribe may probably be found in a people bearing a somewhat similar name inhabiting the northern part of Arakan.

Having placed his son, Moodooseikta, over those who remained here, Kanrazagyee with the rest of his followers pushed on again westwards and founded a city on the Kyoukpindoung mountain in the north of Arakan, the ruins of which city are still to be seen. Thus, according to both Burmese and Arakanese history, was founded the nation and kingdom of Arakan. Following this tradition the Burmans have always acknowledged the Arakanese as the elder branch of the race and style them "Bya'magyee." Kanrazangeh and his descendants reigned for thirty-one generations

in Tagoung. During the reign of the last King, Beinnaka, the whole country was overrun by invaders from the country of Gandalarit, the Buddhist classic name of the province of Yunan.

The King of Tagoung retired to Malaychoung on the Irrawaddy above Amarapoora, and on his death the people separated, one part emigrating eastward into what are now the Shan States, another part going southward and uniting with those of the former emigration under Kanrazagyee in the country of the Pyoo and Thet tribes, while the remainder with the Queen, Nagasein, continued to occupy Malaychoung.

As the Tagoung royal race ended with Beinnaka, the chronicles have recourse to a fresh emigration from Middle India to supply a new dynasty.

We here touch a firm point in chronology. "At this time," says the historian, "the Lord Gaudama, appeared in the Myitzee-"madaytha, or middle country." The King of Kawthala or Kosala (Oude) asked in marriage the hand of a daughter of Mahananda, King of Kappeelawoot. This Mahananda succeeded Thokedawdana, the father of Gaudama, and was cousin of the latter. The King of Kappeelawoot, instead of a royal Princess, sent the daughter of a beautiful slave. The Kawthala King married her and had a son who, when grown up, went to visit his relations in Kappeelawoot. Being insulted by them on account of his mother's birth, the young Prince vowed revenge. After his father's death he attacked the Thakya Princes of Kappeelawoot, overcame them, and utterly destroyed their country.

That this legend so far has been derived direct from Indian sources is evident, as we find it narrated in almost the exact words by the Chinese traveller Hiouen Thsang and alluded to by another, Fa Hian.

On the final overthrow of the Thakya dynasty of Kappeelawoot, one of the Princes, Dazaraza, with his followers, imitating his alleged ancestor Abeeraza, made his way eastward and settled first in Mawreeya, now Mwayyin. Thence, after a time, he moved southwards to Malaychoung, where he finally married Queen Nagasein, the widow of Beinnaka and of the same royal Thakya race as himself. This is the alleged origin of the second Tagoung dynasty.

To glance for a moment at the probable truth or otherwise of this story. We know that the early traditions of all the great nations of Indo-China represent them as at the beginning mere broken tribes and clans in a state of savage independence, much resembling that of the hill tribes of Arakan at this day. Most of them, as the Talaings, the Siamese, and the Cambodians, ascribe

the origin of their civilization and first royal race to the advent of colonists from the coast of India. Indian history informs us that, after the death of Gaudama, desolating wars and revolutions prevailed among the numerous petty Princes of Middle India. There does not then seem to be any impossibility, or even improbability, in the idea that one of these fugitive Princes, wandering eastwards in search of a new country wherein to establish himself and his followers, may have found his way through the passes of the Manipur hills into the valley of the Irrawaddy, and either subjected the semi-savage native tribes to his sway, or have been received by them as a civilizer and chief. We may then accept this legend of the second emigration of the *early* Burman royal dynasty from India as at least credible, even though we discredit the first, and those who entirely reject it have in no way accounted otherwise for the commencement of civilization and order among the tribes which afterwards formed the Burman race.

After his marriage Dazaraza and his Queen founded the city of Upper Pagan, near Tagoung. They subsequently removed to the mother capital of the race, old Tagoung, which they re-built, and the whole country received the Sanskrit name of Pyinsalarit.

The actual history of the Burman race and empire may be said to begin from this second founding of Tagoung, although the narrative is still much obscured by fable.

LEGENDARY TALAING HISTORY.

THERE is one great difference between the annals of the Talaing and Burman races. The Talaing national historians do not pretend to account for the origin of their race. While, like all other nations, their earliest traditions are largely mixed with fable, they do not extend these back into a mythical antiquity, and go no further back than the era of Gaudama, that is, about 600 years before Christ. They have no tradition of ever having occupied other than their present localities, or of any changes or migrations of their race. The starting point of their history is not even national, but connected with a foreign country and people. It is thus told in the Talaing books :—

"The two Princes, Teiktha and Zayyakonema, sons of the King "of Thoopienna in the Karannaka *country, became hermits and "resided on the Zingyike mountain (between Thatone and Martaban). "After some time the younger brother moved to the Zwehgabin "mountain (east of the Salween) and lived there. The elder brother,

*A country on the east coast of India.

"walking one day by the seashore at the foot of Zingyike, found two "eggs, from which in time two boys were produced. One of these, "who the hermit gave to his younger brother, died of small-pox at the "age of ten years. When the other had attained the age of seven-"teen, with the advice of his foster-father the hermit, he called "together the people around,—Moons (or Talaings), Yoons, Brah-"min Kalás (or foreigners from India), Kyaypazawas, Shans, Chins, "Lawas, and Toungthoos,—and founded a city called Thatone. He "assumed the name of Theeharaza. The boy who had died was "born again in the Meiktheela country, and when seven years old "met the Lord Gaudama and became the Rahanda Gawonpaday."

In this wonderful and at first sight absurd story of the foundation of Thatone, the earliest seat of the Talaing or Moon people as a nation, closer examination will disclose some important facts. The founder is a Prince whose origin is fabulous, represented as born of a nágama's or female dragon's egg and brought up and educated by a princely hermit belonging to the country of Karannaka. This latter, as well as Thoopeinna and other localities mentioned in these early Talaing traditions, have been clearly identified as parts of the ancient Dravidian kingdom of Teelingana on the east coast of India. The inhabitants of Thatone are also said to have been composed of several races, among whom we find Brahmin Kalás, that is, foreigners from the coast of India.

We may, without any distortion of facts, read between the lines of the fable a true history of the events as they actually occurred. The country around Thatone and Martaban was inhabited by the Moons represented by their own history as then a wild, barbarous race. A trading colony of the civilized natives of the Teelinga coast arrived, and after some time they or their offspring by the women of the country, typified by the nágama, founded the city of Thatone. In all Indian tradition the Nágas represent the aborigines of a country. One point of the story is confirmed by geological evidence, *viz.*, that the sea once washed the foot of Zingyike and reached to the walls of the city of Thatone instead of being as now twelve miles distant. The early trading intercourse between the Hindu kingdom of Teelingana and the countries on the east of the Bay of Bengal is a fact well known.

As in all Buddhist countries Gaudama is alleged to have personally visited and preached in them, he is said to have so done in Thatone. But there are two versions of the legend. According to one this visit took place in the reign of Theeharaza himself, according to the other in that of his son Theereemathawka. This will give us two dates to select from for the founding of Thatone. The first account places the visit of Gaudama in the thirty-

seventh year before he attained neikban, and as Theeharaza is said to have died in the same year, having reigned sixty years, this will give B. C. 603 as the date of the foundation of the city. If, on the other hand, we accept King Theereemathawka as the contemporary of Gaudama, the date of Theeharaza's reign and of the founding of Thatone will be thrown back some sixty or eighty years. It is hardly to be expected that we can do more than approximately fix the commencement of the history of Thatone and of the Talaing people between 600 and 700 B. C.

There was evidently at this early period a close connection between Pegu and the eastern coast of India. Everywhere we meet traces of it, nor are the records of it confined to the traditions of Talaing history. We find in the religious books of Ceylon accounts of merchants from Suvarnabhúmi (the Sanskrit name of Thatone) trading in Central India. This legend of the offering made to Buddha by the brothers Tapassu and Bhallaka (in Burmese Tapoketha and Paleeka) is the one alluded to in the inscription on the great bell on the platform of the Shway Dagone pagoda in Rangoon. The eight hairs from his head that the Para gave them are the sacred relics enshrined in that the most venerated of the Buddhist edifices in Burma. There is no reason, however, to suppose that these merchants were Talaings or Moons. They were most probably from the Teelinga settlement of Thatone. The constant commerce carried on by the Hindus of the Coromandel coast with the regions to the east is an established fact. The name of Teelinga or Kalinga is as familiar in the early annals of Java and Sumatra as in those of the Talaing country. This gives us the most probable origin of the name by which the inhabitants of Pegu are known to their neighbours the Burmans and to the English. The word "Talaing" is a foreign appellation, and not the national designation of the people (which is Moon), and was probably first applied to the descendants of the Teelinga colonists and afterwards to the whole people. To the Siamese and Anamese they are known as Moons.

After the foundation of the city of Thatone the Native history contains nothing but a dry list of Kings and their Queens, with a few notices of their building religious edifices. The names may be real or merely fictitious; they are but names and have no real interest for the student.

The first really important event after the foundation of the kingdom of Thatone was the first introduction of Buddhism into these Eastern countries. This subject had best be treated of in a separate chapter, with a short account of the Buddhist religion and its founder Gaudama, of whom the youth of Burma, whether Bud-

dhists or otherwise, have very little clear idea in a historical sense.

BUDDHISM AND ITS INTRODUCTION INTO BURMA.

About six centuries before Christ the religion of the people of Central India in the countries watered by the Ganges was Brahminism. This name was derived from the deity Brâhm (the perfect one), whose priests and ministers were the Brahmans. But it was a religion very different in practice from that which bears the same name to-day. The Brahmans thought that the deity must be propitiated by the sacrifice of great numbers of helpless animals and even in some cases of *human beings*.

At that time the country now forming the provinces of Oude and Allahabad was divided into a number of petty kingdoms, one of which was Kappeelawoot, the modern Fyzabad. Here Princes of the Thakya race ruled, and about 600 B. C. Thokedawdana is said to have been King. His eldest son, described as a most accomplished young Prince, was suddenly struck with an intense desire to become a religious teacher and alleviate the sorrow and misery he saw around him in the world. He forsook the pomp and luxury of his royal state and for forty-five years wandered from city to city with his disciples, ever preaching and teaching lessons of love and mercy. This young Prince was Gaudama, and the religion he taught is called Buddhism, that is, "the religion of Buddh," because his chief doctrine was that the law which he taught men to observe could only be fully known to and preached by a perfectly wise and benevolent being, which is the meaning of the word "Buddh." He taught that already three other Buddhs had appeared at different times on the earth, that he himself was the fourth, and that after him at a long interval should come a fifth and last, for whose appearance the Buddhists still look. The doctrines which Gaudama taught cannot be explained here, but the five great commandments of his religion may be mentioned: they are—

(1) not to take life;
(2) not to steal;
(3) not to commit adultery;
(4) not to drink intoxicating things;
(5) not to lie.

At the age of eighty, and according to the date accepted by the Buddhists of Ceylon and Burma, the great teacher Gaudama died, or, to use the Buddhist expression, "attained nirvana" or neikban, that is, the cessation of existence.

We see then that Gaudama is not a God as is foolishly said by some who do not understand his religion, but merely a great teacher. His religion is that now professed not only in Burma and Siam, but in Ceylon, China, Thibet, Japan, and Tartary, and numbers over 340 out of the 900 millions of the earth's inhabitants among its votaries. We can here only consider the history of its introduction into the Burman countries.

After the death of Gaudama three great synods or councils famous in Buddhist religious history were held in India to collect and revise the Buddhist sacred books. The last and most important of these was held in the great city of Palibothra or Patalipútra (the modern Patna) under the protection of the celebrated Asoka or Dhammathawka, Raja of Magadha. This took place according to the Burmese dates 235 years after the death of Gaudama, that is, B.C. 308. But an examination of Indian history leads to the belief that the real date was some time later, in B. C. 241. In this, the last and greatest council, the Buddhist sacred books were revised with the greatest care and labour and collected in the *Beedagat.*

From this council went forth into all lands bordering on Hindustan zealous Buddhist missionaries, and it is really from this date that the historical introduction of Buddhism into the various trans-Indian countries of Asia can be traced. Every people which has embraced the faith of Gaudama has fondly endeavoured to ascribe their first conversion to the personal teaching and preaching of the great founder himself, and the supposed traces and local legends of Buddha are found in every Buddhist country. There is, however, not the slighest reason for believing that Gaudama ever travelled beyond the limits of the upper Gangetic provinces, nor even that Buddhism itself had spread much beyond those limits before the date of this last council. Educated Burman Buddhists should reflect that their own sacred books which contain the life of Gaudama make no mention of his visiting any places but those in the upper valley of the Ganges.

According to the great Mahâwanso chronicle of Ceylon, nine of the most pious and learned rahans (or religious men) were chosen to go forth and preach the faith of Gaudama in the neighbouring countries. To each the council assigned the scene of his labours, and we are told "the eighth priest, Sōneke Maha-"terrunnanse, went to the land called Swarnewarna and established "the religion of Budhu there."

In an inscription still existing in the island of Ramree, made about a hundred years ago, we find, "In the sacred era 236 religion "was established by the venerable Thawna and Oketara in Thoowoon-

"nabonemee, the Thatone country." Thawna is the Burmese way of writing the Sanskrit Sōna or Sōne, and Thoowoonnabonemee Suvarnabhúmi.

Of the country of Suvarnabhúmi Thatone was then the capital, not, however, so much of the native Moon race as of the foreign settlers who had colonized the coast from the ancient kingdom of Teelingana on the east coast of India.

According to the Talaing legend, the Buddhist missionaries on their arrival met with great opposition from the local teachers, probably Brahmins, being denounced and reviled by them as heretics. Gradually the new doctrines gained ground, pagodas arose, and the faith of Buddha or Gaudama established itself in Thatone, to flourish amid all vicissitudes for over 2,000 years to the present day, on the spot where the great Thagya pagoda lifts its worn and ancient head, probably the oldest architectural monument of Buddhism in Burma.

The Burman historians have endeavoured to appropriate a missionary to themselves at the same period, but they can offer nothing but their own uncorroborated legend in support of their statements. It is most probable that the upper countries of the Irrawaddy river derived their first knowledge of the Buddhist faith from the south, either by Indian teachers passing up from the coast or by intercourse with their Talaing neighbours.

There is really no reason for supposing that Buddhism had taken root or even been preached in ultra-Gangetic India before the time of the third council in the reign of Asoka or Dhammathanka. The intercourse between the Indo-Chinese countries and India was conducted by the natives of the Coromandel coast, among whom Buddhism had certainly not then been established. Even in the sacred isle of Lanka (Ceylon) we know that the faith of Gaudama was first introduced at this very time by Prince Maheindara, the son of King Dhammathawka.

SECOND TAGOUNG DYNASTY.—B. C. 543—444.

From the second foundation of the city of Tagoung by Dazaraza seventeen Kings are enumerated, but little if anything of their lives or acts is recorded till we come to the last, Thadomaharaza. At this point the history contains another long and wonderful legend, which tells of the end of the Tagoung kingdom and the rise of a new one. It is as follows:—

Thadomaharaza having no son adopted the brother of his Queen, Keinnareedaywee, as his heir.

A monstrous boar having appeared and devastated the whole country, the Prince Labadooha went forth to slay it. In his eager pursuit of the chase he got separated from his attendants, followed the boar down the Irrawaddy, and finally killed it at a place still known as "Wettogyoon" (boar-pierced island) near Prome. The incidents of this and the following legend have given names still current to several other places on the Irrawaddy river above Prome. The story continues. Prince Labadooha finding himself alone and unwilling to return dwelt as a hermit near the site of the future city of Prome, thence sometimes called Yathaymyo, or hermit city. In his wanderings in the jungle he found a female child miraculously born of a doe and brought her up as his adopted daughter.

The same year that Prince Labadooha had left Tagoung in pursuit of the boar the Queen gave birth to two sons, who were both born blind. Their father, ashamed of this misfortune, ordered them to be killed, but the Queen managed to conceal and bring them up till they were nineteen years old. They were named Mahathanbawa and Soolathanbawa. The King at length discovered their existence and again ordered them to be killed, but their mother placed them on a raft and committed them to the Irrawaddy river. As they floated down a Beelooma took pity on them and restored them to sight. This point in the legend is still commemorated by the names of the two villages of Mopone and Myaydeh just above the town of Thayetmyo. They are said to derive their names from the first exclamations of wonder by the Princes on obtaining their eyesight,—*mopone*, "the sky covers," *myaydeh*, "the earth is spread out."

Following the stream the two young Princes at length arrived near the place where stands the modern city of Prome. Here they encountered drawing water Baydaree, the adopted daughter of the hermit Prince Labadooha. She led the young men to her father, and from their explanations he learnt that they were the sons of his sister, the Queen of Tagoung. He then gave the damsel Baydaree in marriage to the elder of the brothers.

The Prome local history here narrates that at this time the country around was inhabited by the Pyoo tribe, who, we have seen, were amalgamated with a part of the dispersed inhabitants of old or first Tagoung. The people suffered from the constant attacks of their kindred tribe on the Arakan side, the Kanrans, and, in consequence, to obtain a chief, the Queen of the Pyoos married Prince Mahathanbawa and made him King. Their son was the famous Doottaboung, though some of the chronicles make him the son of Baydaree. However this may be, he was one of the celebrated

monarchs of Burman history, and founded the great city of Tharaykittara, or old Prome, the ruins of which still exist about two miles east of the present town. This took place in B. C. 444, the year after the second great Buddhist council was held in the city of Vaisali or Waythalee.

Doottaboung is said to have reigned for seventy-two years over a large empire. As nothing more is mentioned in the Native histories respecting the Tagoung kingdom, it is probable that it merged into that of Prome after the death of Thadomaharaza, the grandfather of King Doottaboung, and that the dominions of this latter monarch comprised the whole upper valley of the Irrawaddy.

THE PROME DYNASTY.—B. C. 444: A. D. 107.

DOOTTABOUNG was succeeded in his kingdom by his son Doottayan. During the reign of the grandson of this latter King occurred two great events in the contemporaneous history of India. The first was the invasion of Alexander the Great, B. C. 327; the other the third great Buddhist council already alluded to, B. C. 308.

A succession of Kings of the line of Doottaboung reigned in Prome, of whom little worth notice is recorded except their characters as pious monarchs or otherwise. The last of them was Theereerit, with whom ended the royal race that was supposed to be derived from the Thakya Princes of India. He was succeeded by one Ngataba, of whom the following story is told:—

"While he was a student his teacher, who understood the "language of birds, hearing a cock one day cry out 'he that eats my "head shall be a King,' ordered Ngataba to kill and cook the fowl "for him. While doing so the boy accidentally dropped the cock's "head on the ground, and then not venturing to present it to his "teacher undesignedly eat it himself. In time the omen was ful-"filled and Ngataba became King."

This absurd legend offers nothing to account for the rise of this new dynasty, and we must remain in ignorance of the events or causes that placed Ngataba on the throne. The Burman chronicles state that in the seventeenth year of this King's reign, about B. C. 88—76, the sacred books were committed to writing in Ceylon. This, however, is a point disputed by many scholars, who believe the teachings of Gaudama were collated long previous to this date.

Ngataba was succeeded by his son Papeeyan, in whose time the Burmese history states religion (that is Buddhism) was greatly oppressed in India. He reigned during the last fifty years

before the Christian era, and we know that about that time occurred the great wars of Vikramaditya, the Brahmin monarch of Ujjain, and the establishment of the great Brahmanical Andhra dynasty in Magadha and in the Deccan. Or, if we apply the correction of sixty-five years before alluded to by adding it to the Burman date, we arrive at a still more closely corresponding era, that of Sáliváhana, the Deccan King and noted persecutor of the Buddhists, who flourished about A. D. 77.

From the Burmese chronicles it would appear that the struggles for the ascendancy which began about this time in India between Brahmanism and Buddhism affected these countries also, for it is noted of some of the Kings that they had no regard for religion, which always means in this case Buddhism.

One Prince, Bayreinda, is said to have gone for his education to Tetkatho, the Sanskrit Takhshasila, one of the most celebrated cities of ancient India, the ruins of which are situated about 32 miles east of the Indus. This story, if true, shows a connection and intercourse existing between Burma and Upper India at this period, which, however, is not supported by any other facts.

Several Kings of the same race occupied the throne without any remarkable events being recorded, until the reign of Nagaraseinda, or Thoopyinnya, under whom the glory of the kingdom of Prome culminated. He invaded and subdued Arakan, and attempted to convey to Burma the famous golden image of Gaudama from the temple of Mahamyatmanee.

This highly venerated object of worship has been thus described:—

"The image of Gaudama is made of brass and highly burnished. "The figure is about ten feet high, in the customary sitting posture, "with the legs crossed and inverted, the left hand resting on the "lap and the right pendent. This image is believed to be the "original resemblance of the Rishi (Gaudama) taken from life, "and is so highly venerated that pilgrims have for centuries been "accustomed to come from the remotest countries where the supre-"macy of Gaudama is acknowledged to pay their devotions at the "foot of his brazen representative."

Although the Burmans failed at this time, they were destined several centuries later to obtain possession of this coveted treasure, which is now enthroned in the ancient city of Amarapoora.

After the death of Thoopyinnya the empire which he had established was broken up. Civil war appears to have ensued between the various races who formed it,—the Pyoos, the Kanrans, and the Burmans,—that is, the people of the countries of Prome, of Arakan, and Tagoung.

Thamoodarit, the nephew of the last King, endeavoured to settle in a position south of Prome, but he was driven thence by the attacks of the Talaings from the south and fled to Mindone, and the city and kingdom of Prome were destroyed A. D. 104. Thamoodarit finding himself still harassed by the Kanrans, retreated northwards across the Irrawaddy and established a new dynasty and kingdom in the old city of Pagan near Tagoung, formerly founded by Dazaraza. He is said to have been joined by Pyoomindee, Prince of Tagoung, who married his daughter.

THE OLD PAGAN DYNASTY.—A. D. 107—841.

THAMOODARIT was succeeded by his son-in-law Pyoomindee, thus uniting the kindred royal lines of Tagoung and Prome. The reign of the third King of this dynasty is signalized by an invasion of "the Chinese" according to the Native history. The invaders were completely defeated at Kawthanbee. Although styled "Chinese" it is more probable they were the Shans of Yunan. At this time the Chinese had not conquered the province of Yunan, which was possessed by the Shan race. The Chinese were, however, about this period, A. D. 161—241, extending their empire southward of the Yangtsekiang, and their attacks on the Shan kingdom of Yunan may have forced the latter to endeavour to trespass in turn on their Burman neighbours.

Eighteen Kings reigned in Pagan from Thamoodarit to the year A. D. 638, when the throne was occupied by Pokepasaw, a rahan or monk, who had by some means usurped it. It is noted of him that he was a learned man and skilled in astrology. He established the common Burman era which continues in use at the present day, begininng in the year A. D. 638.

This era is common to the Siamese, Shans, and Cambodians, and was probably fixed by a singular astronomical coincidence at the time. On the 21st March A. D. 638 the new moon coincided with the entrance of the sun into the first sign of the zodiac and produced an important eclipse. The monk-King was succeeded by several others, of whom nothing particular is recorded. In the year A. D. 847 the reigning King, Pyinbya, removed his capital and founded the present city of Lower Pagan below Mandalay and Ava.

There have been doubts* expressed as to the respective dates of these two Pagans. But, though the history does not specify

* By Colonel Horace Browne among others.

the upper or lower when mentioning them, we have no record or hint of any change of the capital from the time of the founding of *a* Pagan city by Pyinbya to the reign of Anawratamin, who reigned in the *same* city of Pagan, which Pagan we know to have been the lower one, and which therefore must be the later of the two.

THE PEGU KINGDOM.—A. D. 403—781.

After the mention of the mission of Thawna and Oketara (the Sanskrit Sona and Uttaro) to the land of Suvarnabhúmi, the Talaing chronicles of Thatone record nothing except a dry list of Kings until the Buddhist year 943, answering to A. D. 403. In this year occurred one of the most important events in the history of these countries. This was the introduction of the whole of the sacred Buddhist books from Ceylon by the famous teacher Buddhaghosa or Bokedagawtha.

It is very probable that the first Buddhist missionaries had either handed down the law of Buddha orally and traditionally, or that among a rude and uncivilized people, as the native races of Pegu and Burma then undoubtedly were, the faith had declined, and the sacred writings, for want of care and increase of new copies, had almost disappeared.

It is singular that at the same period, A. D. 400—414, a Chinese learned man named Fa Hian was making a weary pilgrimage from China through India to Ceylon to obtain a clearer knowledge of the faith and to take back copies of the Buddhist scriptures to his native land. His account of the state of things in China would probably answer for the Burman countries. He says "he was distress-"ed to observe the precepts and the theological works on the point "of being lost and already disfigured by omissions." Possibly the two sages might have both been engaged at the very same time in the monasteries of Ceylon in transcribing the *Beedagat*, the one into Chinese, the other into Pali. The Talaing historians claim their great teacher as a countryman and native of Thatone, but there is no doubt that he was, as stated in the *Mahâwanso* of Ceylon, a native of India, who, treading in the footsteps of the former great missionaries of Buddhism, devoted himself to spreading the knowledge of the law and copies of the sacred books among the nations of Indo-China.

It seems almost certain that it was at this period that the Talaing language was reduced to writing and an alphabet introduced, possibly by Bokedagawtha himself. The Talaing alphabet is derived from that in use in India about the third century of the Christian

era, and it is evident that the Burmese has been borrowed at a later period from the Talaing, which contains some forms older than, and wanting in, the Burman alphabet.

From this period there is no doubt that Buddhism was firmly established in at least the Talaing country, and completely supplanted the old natworship, which was the earliest belief of the Moons as of all the races of Burma.

The Native history continues after recording the above event as dull and uninteresting as before until the Buddhist year 1116, or A. D. 573, when we reach the era of the foundation of Pegu.

The traditionary account of this event is long and overlaid with fabulous details, but the main points are worth noting, for they doubtless contain a confused account of the events of the time, which is valuable since we possess no other.

The legend commences at a period when the whole plains around Pegu were broad sea, and the site of the future great city of Hanthawaddy or Pegu was only a little bank of sand in the middle of the sea. An alleged prophecy of Gaudama that that little shining speck should in future times be the site of a great city is then given. At the moment this prophecy was supposed to be uttered two 'hinthas' (a large kind of wild duck) were resting on this small sand islet, whence the sacred name of Pegu, "Hinthawadee," the country of the hinthas. Some one thousand years after this the waters of the sea receded and left a large island around what is now the town of Pegu.

Here the legend and facts undoubtedly agree. At an early period the sea covered all the present southern plains of the Burman peninsula from Martaban to Cape Negrais, and the sea gradually receding left first small sandbanks, which in time grew into large islands, and these again by the continued rising of the soil and further retreat of the water united to form the great plains of Martaban and Pegu.

This island in the sea was, the story states, discovered by a ship belonging to the Teelinga coast trading between the city of Beezanagaran (Vizianagaram) and Thatone. The King of the former city sent a ship to take possession of the island and buried there a smooth iron pillar engraved with his name, titles, and signet. So things remained for another 160 years. At that time, about A. D. 573, Adeinnaraza, a powerful and religious monarch, had succeeded his father, Theinnaginga, on the throne of Thatone. Strange to say neither of these Princes are mentioned, at least under these names, in the list of Kings of Thatone. The Pegu chronicle relates that in the reign of Theinnaginga there lived on the Zingyike mountain a hermit named Lawma. On this hill a

nagáma having taken a human form wandered about gathering fruits and flowers. She was met in the forest by a weikzato, or magician, and the result of their union was that the nagáma after the manner of her race brought forth an egg. This egg was found by the hermit Lawma, who took it home, and in seven days from the egg was produced a female child endowed with every charm and grace. When she had attained her sixteenth year a huntsman of the King of Thatone one day met her, and struck by her surpassing beauty reported it to the King. Theinnaginga accordingly begged her in marriage from the hermit and made her his Queen. Two sons were born to her, who were named Thamala and Weemala, and were much beloved by their father. After some time it was observed that numbers of the attendants and those around the Queen died suddenly. The reason of this, though not known, was that, being sprung from the powerful Nagá race, her anger proved fatal to any who in any way incurred it. The nobles and people complained to the King in vain. At length the secret was discovered by the King's teacher, and by means of a magic ointment the Nagá origin of the Queen was made manifest and she died.

The King sent her two sons to the old hermit on Zingyike mountain, by whom they were brought up and instructed in every kind of learning. In the meanwhile their father died and their half-brother, Adeinnaraza, with the consent of the nobles and people, succeeded on the throne. When the two young Princes were sixteen years old the hermit sent them to the Court of their half-brother the King, and there Thamala by his beauty and accomplishments won the heart of the King's daughter Badyakonemaree. Soon after, however, the King learnt that the two Princes were conspiring against him and attempted to seize them, on which they fled back with the Princess to the old hermit.

Lawma, who was acquainted with the ancient prediction respecting the resting place of the golden 'hinthas,' now become a large island, advised the Princes to fly to the westward and found a kingdom there. One hundred and seventy families joined them, and seventeen rafts of bamboo were prepared, there being no boats. Taking farewell of the old hermit they embarked and floated down the stream to its mouth. This river being full of laterite boulders they called Gawoon Yinnyein, and the latter part of the name it retains to this day. From the mouth of the river an easterly wind carried the rafts across, after they had sustained a violent storm, to near the spot where formerly the Indian ship of Beezanagaran had anchored.

Here the Princes and their followers disembarked and were soon after joined by 330 Moon families who had already settled on

the island. They then began to search for a suitable site on which to found a city.

Then follows a long and fabulous account of their dispute with the natives of India, whom the King of Beezanagaran had at this time sent to colonize the island. The Indians rested their claim on the possession taken by them 160 years before, the proof of which was the iron pillar they had buried as a record. Instructed, however, by the Thagyamin (the chief of the náts) who assumed the guise of a venerable old man, the Talaing Princes disputed the claim and offered to put it to a trial. Accordingly the spot pointed out by the Indians was excavated and there was their iron pillar inscribed with a date a century-and-a-half old. But the disguised Thagyamin calling on the Talaings to dig further, lo! ten fathoms below the iron pillar was found a golden one inscribed in the Moon language with a far older date. This, however, was only a deceit effected by the power of the Thagyamin, who had during the night placed or created the false golden pillar. The Indians owned themselves defeated, and, ashamed to return to their own country, are said to have embarked on a raft which drifted to a point on the coast where they agreed to settle, and which to this day is called in Talaing 'Kallaytai,' in Burmese 'Kalatike,' or 'Tikekala,' 'the dwelling of foreigners,' and lies about five míles east of the present town of Kyiketo.

The Talaings now proceeded to found a city on the spot where the 'hinthas' had rested, and in the centre built a pagoda, in which the golden pillar together with a sacred hair of Buddha were enshrined. This is the Kyikesannee pagoda, which still exists in the old town of Pegu. The date given in the history for the finding of the golden pillar is Monday, the 1st of the waxing moon of Tabodweh in the common year 514, the sacred year 1116, or A. D. 573.

All these wonderful details may be regarded like the "string "of pearls with which Prince Thamala marked out the boundaries "of the city" as the poetic embellishments of actual facts. We may now endeavour to extract these latter. It has been already said that the kingdom of Thatone was not purely Moon, but was partly Indian, founded by Princes of Indian race. Probably the royal family, the nobles, and merchants were the descendants of the original settlers from the Teelinga coast of India, while the mass of the people were Moons and other native races.

The legend just related begins, like that of the origin of Thatone itself, with a hermit living on the Zingyike mountain who finds a nagáma's egg. This Zingyike mountain is a remarkable peak in the Martaban range, and was evidently a sacred spot to the early

Moon race. It means in the Talaing language "the foot of God." The lovely daughter of the Nagá lineage born of the egg may be taken as the poetic embodiment of a beautiful maiden of the native Moon race who captivated the King's heart. By his excessive affection for her and her sons he induced dissension among the half-Hindu nobles and members of his own family, which ended in the violent death of the Queen and the banishment of her sons. On the death of the King one of his other sons was placed on the throne by the Hindu faction to the exclusion of the two rightful young heirs. Finding themselves unable to assert their claims, they collected around them a number of adventurers of their mother's race and emigrated westward in search of a new settlement and established themselves on the low fertile shores of Pegu. Such are the simple and probable facts which this wild and romantic legend seems to shadow forth. It points to a revolt of the now partly civilized Moon people against the rule of their civilizers and afterwards masters, the semi-Hindu colonists of Thatone, and the establishment of a national independence. It is worthy of remark that the mother State of Thatone never increased, never at any time in its history attained any power or influence, but remained merely a highly civilized and flourishing trading port. The young settlement of Pegu, on the contrary, representing the real Moon or Talaing nationality, rapidly extended its boundaries.

The elder of the two Princes was solemnly invested as the first King of the new city of Hanthawaddy and assumed the name of Maheemoo Thamala Konemara. He sent out parties from the parent city and is said to have founded the towns of Kyoukmaw, Ban, Donezarit, and Singoo in the Shwaygyin district. These towns, of which traces still exist, would seem to have been fortified enclosures protected by deep fosses within which a village or town was built and cultivation carried on by the inhabitants. We can hardly imagine that an area of four square miles, which was the general size, was required for the habitations simply of from 350 to 400 families, which was the average strength of these colonies.

Twelve years after the founding of the city of Pegu Weemala rebelled against his elder brother, put him to death, and assumed the sovereignty with the title of Weemala Konemara, A. D. 585. Three years after his accession he built the town of Sittoung, which was anciently called in the Talaing language "Kadaing," a "point" or "promontory." Two years after this the whole of Hanthawaddy was alarmed by the appearance of seven large vessels which anchored off Syriam. They had been sent by the King of Beezanagaran to drive out the Talaings and take possession of the country. The strangers offered to settle the matter by a single

combat between their champion and one on the part of the Talaings. After some delay the son of King Thamala, who had been secretly brought up after his father's murder, appeared and slew the Indian champion. The invaders then retired. King Weemala offered to resign the crown to his nephew, who declined and only asked permission to build a town near the place where he had been brought up.

Taking with him 330 families he built a town at the foot of the hills about seven miles east of Sittoung. Here he also erected a pagoda called by his name, which survives in the present existing village of Kyikekatha just outside the walls of the old town.

On the death of Weemala, this Prince succeeded him under the title of Kathákonema. His reign was marked by peace and increasing prosperity. He concluded treaties and encouraged trade with all the neighbouring countries. He repaired and placed a new "tee" on the Shwaymawdaw pagoda in Pegu, and built many kyoungs and religious edifices.

After his death, A. D. 599, there was a succession of eight Kings, of whose reigns nothing special is recorded. With the last of these, Maheemoo Anoomaraza, the royal race seems to have died out, for we are told that the next King, Metgadeikpa, A. D. 712, was not of royal extraction, but was the son of a noble, and was elected King by general consent.

His successor founded the town of Kabin on the site of the present town of Dala opposite Rangoon. He added the province of Bassein to the Pegu kingdom and placed a garrison on 'Haing-gyeekyoon,' at the mouth of the Bassein river.

In A. D. 746 Ponenareekaraza, who was on the throne, re-built the ancient town of Ramanago, afterwards called Dagone. The Talaing history says that this town was originally built by Arammanaraza, and called after him Arammanamyo, but in time the name became corrupted to Ramanagomyo.* This appears to have been the beginning of the present city of Rangoon. The towns of Ramawadee, north of Dagone, Hlaing, and Hmawbee were also built or enlarged.

This King was distinguished for his great zeal for religion and his constant observance of the Buddhist law.

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* NOTE.—Sir A. Phayre, in his history of Pegu, conjectures a revival of Brahminism at this time from the name of this King, and from his calling his new city after the deity Ráma. But we see the name of the city was simply the old one and was a corruption of that of the founder and not given in honour of Ráma. "Ponenarika," it is true, means 'Brahman-heart,' but at this date the great struggle between Brahmanism and Buddhism had hardly commenced. It is, moreover, the law of Gaudama that this King is so praised for observing.

He was succeeded, A. D. 761, by his son, Thameinteiktharaza, who was as great a persecutor of Buddhism as his father had been a zealous follower of it. He pulled down the pagodas, monasteries, and sacred edifices. He threw the images of Gaudama into the river and forbade any under pain of death to follow his law. "All "the people of Hanthawaddy trembled before the orders of the "King, and not one person was found who dared to worship or "make offerings."

But there was in the city a young damsel, named Badya Daywee, the daughter of a Thatay (rich man), who had been carefully brought up by her mother in the faith of Buddha. One day this maiden while bathing with her companions found one of the images which the King had ordered to be thrown into the river. She carefully drew it out of the water and mud and proceeded to wash it in a zayat. This disobedience of his orders being reported to the King he commanded the girl to be brought before him and furiously ordered her to be trampled to death by a mad elephant. But the story says the elephant refused, though goaded on by his keeper, to touch the gentle maiden. Next a mountain of straw was heaped round her to burn her to death, but lo, in spite of all efforts, the straw could not be kindled.

The King then sent for her and promised to spare her life if the image she had rescued should fly through the air into his presence. The story then contains a marvellous account of how, by the maiden's prayers, the image together with eight others came through the air and hung suspended over the King's palace. At the sight of this miracle the King was confounded, he forsook his former teachers, and returned to the religion of Buddha, which ever after he zealously followed. The damsel Badya Daywee he made his chief Queen.

If we put aside the miraculous parts of this story, we have probably an account of the great struggle in the kingdom of Pegu between the rival religions Brahmanism and Buddhism. In India the contest ended in the complete subversion and destruction of the Buddhist faith. But in Pegu, very possibly, as the story tells, owing to the influence of some pious woman, the faith of Gaudama finally triumphed and has maintained the victory to the present day.

After a reign of twenty years King Teiktharaza died, A.D. 781. With him ended the royal dynasty of Hanthawaddy or Pegu. The Talaing kingdom, which appeared so flourishing, suddenly disappears from the history. Neither the Talaing nor the Burmese records afford any explanation of this mysterious event. For 500 years the history of Pegu is a blank. All is contained in these few lines:—

According to a supposed prophecy of Gaudama, "after seventeen "generations of Moon Princes had reigned in the great country of "Hinthawadee, another race, the Burman, possessed the land for "three generations: the country of Hinthawadee was a suburb of "Pagan, and paid tribute to the King of Pagan."

No cause can be assigned for this sudden destruction of the Talaing kingdom, and though, strange to say, no mention of the fact is actually made in the Burmese history, it is certain that for five centuries the Burmans kept possession, as far as appears, peaceably of the country.

The mother city Thatone continued to exist for a much longer period.

THE DYNASTY OF NEW PAGAN.—A. D. 841—1284.

After the foundation of Lower or New Pagan forty monarchs reigned in succession. No important events are recorded concerning them. In the beginning of the eleventh century of the Christian era one of the most famous of the Burman Kings came to the throne. This was the great Anawrataminzaw, the forty-first monarch of Pagan. The date of the commencement of his reign is uncertain as the chronicles differ from each other, but it may be placed between A.D. 1010 and 1020.

The reign of this monarch is in every way one of the most remarkable in Burman history and occupies a considerable space in the Native record. During this period Buddhism was for the first time definitely established as the national religion of Burma. Then was commenced that magnificent series of temples, whose ruins attest to this day the former splendour of Pagan, and then the foundations of the powerful Burman empire of future times were laid. The first of these events constitutes naturally in the eyes of his countrymen Anawrata's chief glory.

It is evident that if Buddhism had ever obtained any footing previous to this in the upper countries of the Irrawaddy, it had now completely died out. It would be difficult to decide what the system of religion that at this time prevailed in Burma can be termed. It was certainly not Brahmanism. The Native records state that King Sawrahán built five hollow temples. In each temple was placed an image resembling neither nát nor pará. To these morning and evening food and spirits were offered and so they were worshipped and propitiated.

The priests or teachers of this religion are called the thirty great Arees and their disciples. Their doctrines are represented as a complete subversion of all moral law. They taught, it is said,

"whosoever shall commit murder he is freed from his sin by repeat-
"ing a prayer or invocation; whosoever shall kill his parents by
"repeating a prayer he is freed from the punishment due to the five
"greatest sins." These teachers also were addicted to the practice of gross immorality.

Anawrata, whose mind naturally revolted against these degrading doctrines, was fully converted to Buddhism by the preaching of a rahan or holy man, who came from Thatone. He zealously set to work to root out the former evil doctrines and to establish the law of Gaudama. To this end he desired to obtain some holy relics and a complete copy of the Buddhist scriptures which did not exist in Burma. He despatched an embassy to Manooha, the King of Thatone, to request these, but was haughtily refused. Indignant at such conduct, he invaded the kingdom of Thatone, completely destroyed and razed the ancient city to the ground, and carried off priests, people, and everything moveable to his capital. This event is recorded thus in a stone inscription existing in Arakan:—"In the year of Religion 1600 (A.D. 1057) King Anaw-
"rata having great regard for religion brought rahans and priests
"well versed in the sacred books from Thatone to Pagan." Religious zeal may have in the first instance brought on the war, but the complete desolation of the mother city of Burman Buddhism, Thatone, and the destruction of her pagodas and ancient buildings must be ascribed to another motive. Doubtless the conqueror, intending to copy the magnificent edifices which he found there in his own capital, destroyed the models so that his newer erection might be without rivals. The thought and act are quite consonant with the feelings of an Eastern despot.

Anawrata employed the captive people of Thatone in building the first of those splendid temples at Pagan now in ruins, others of which were erected by his son and successors. The Burman empire seems at this period to have comprised the whole upper country of the Irrawaddy and the Talaing provinces to the Salween. Anawrata is said to have married an Indian Princess, the daughter of the King of Waythalee. He invaded China, or rather the province of Yunan, in the hope of obtaining possession of the tooth-relic of Buddha said to be kept in that country.

After a reign of forty-two years Anawrata was succeeded by his sons, Sawloo and Kyanzittha. The latter was the builder of the beautiful Ananda paya or temple in Pagan.

His grandson, Aloungseethoo, was a powerful monarch and added much to the strength and glory of the empire. He sent an expedition into Arakan to assist the rightful King Letyaminnan, who had been expelled by an usurper, and replaced him on his throne.

He built the Shwaygoo and Thapyinnyoo pagodas in Pagan. After a long reign of seventy-five years he was, it is said, murdered by his son Narathoo, who succeeded after also poisoning his elder brother. This King is better known as "Kalágyamin," that is, "the Prince destroyed by foreigners." Among his many acts of cruelty he put to death, it is stated, with his own hand an Indian Princess, daughter of the King of Bengal, or of some State in Bengal, whom his father had married. Her father, incensed at this murder, sent eight men disguised as Brahmans, who gained admittance into the palace and slew the tyrant and then killed themselves to avoid being taken.

The great unfinished pagoda of Dhammayangyee at Pagan was begun by this Prince, and the work caused great misery by the enforced labour of the people.

He was succeeded (A.D. 1164) by his two sons, the elder of whom after a reign of four years was murdered by his brother, Narapadeeseethoo.

Under this monarch the empire of Pagan attained its highest prosperity. His name occurs in most of the local annals of the towns of the Burman peninsula as a founder or restorer. Toungoo, Tavoy, and Martaban date their origin from him. He appears from the histories to have been a powerful but peaceful and religious ruler, who devoted himself to traversing with his court and army the extensive dominions under his sway, founding cities, building and restoring pagodas and religious edifices.

He is said to have sent a mission to Ceylon, A.D. 1171, and during his reign several learned rahans came from Ceylon and settled in Pagan. There was at this time considerable intercourse between the Burman countries and the island of Ceylon, and probably the east coast of India. After the death of Narapadeeseethoo in A.D. 1204, three Kings followed, of whose reigns little of interest is recorded.

About A.D. 1270 the ill-fated Naratheehapaday, or "Tarokpyaymin" (that is, "the prince who fled from the Chinese"), came to the throne. The beginning of his reign was prosperous, but he was of a timid and luxurious disposition.

In the year A.D. 1281 the Governors of the southern provinces of Pegu and Martaban threw off their allegiance. The Talaings rose and under the guidance of Wakaroo, who made himself master of Martaban, laid the foundation of a new Peguan empire.

But more disastrous still was the war with China. The Chinese Emperor sent ambassadors to demand gold and silver vessels as tokens of homage. The Burman King, in spite of the entreaties of his ministers, put the ambassadors to death. It is said this was

brought about by their insolent conduct. The Emperor sent an immense army to avenge this insult.

The Burman army was driven from its entrenchments near Bamo and defeated in a fierce battle. Meanwhile the King had fled from Pagan to Bassein, at the very extremity of his dominions. The victorious Chinese army pursued the flying Burmans as far as Tarokemaw, below Prome. They then returned laden with spoil to their own country.

The capture of Pagan took place, according to the dates in the Burman history, A. D. 1284, but there appears to be an error of seven years* and the true date of the event to be A. D. 1277.

The King now commenced his progress back to his capital. An instance of his selfish and luxurious disposition is recorded. While making his way through the devastated country his servants one day could only provide for the royal table 150 dishes instead of the usual number of 300 covers. On seeing this the king covered his face with his hands and wept, saying "I am become a poor man." He arrived only as far as Prome and there he was poisoned by one of his sons, A. D. 1284.

Kyawzwa, another of his sons, succeeded to the vacant throne. But the flourishing empire which his father had inherited was now broken in pieces. All the southern provinces of his dominions had become independent under different rulers.

Three Shan brothers, sons of the Chief of Myinzaing, possessed great authority in the northern part of the kingdom. His own chief Queen conspired with these powerful nobles against her husband, and the wretched Kyawzwa was seized, forced to become a ponegyee, and confined in a monastery, A. D. 1298.

With this event ends the dynasty of new Pagan. The Burman empire ceased to exist, and the upper valley of the Irrawaddy was parcelled out for some years among various Shan Princes.

THE MARTABAN KINGDOM.—A. D. 1281—1370.

After the founding of Martaban by Narapadeeseethoo, about A. D. 1167, it was ruled by Burman Governors. It is evident that at this period the whole of the Pegu and the Tenasserim province were subject to the rule of the Burman dynasty of Pagan. The Shans seem to have possessed the country east of the Salween river, for Martaban is described as bounded on the east "by the "country of the Shans."

* Phayre.

In the reign of 'Kalabyaymin,' King of Pagan, Aleinma was Governor of Martaban, and Tarabya Governor or Viceroy of Pegu. At this time a certain adventurer named Magadoo, said to be a Talaing, but more probably of half Shan extraction, had established himself as a petty chief near Martaban. He had formerly been in the service of the King of Thokekaday, a Shan State lying east of the present province of Yahaing. Magadoo assembled around him a number of Shan followers and in the Burmese year 643, A. D. 1281, by a mixture of boldness and treachery, he murdered the Burman Governor and made himself master of Martaban city.

He then declared himself King and assumed the name of Wakaroo.

Tarabya, Governor of Pegu, about the same time rebelled against the King of Pagan and entered into an alliance with Wakaroo. The Burman forces were completely defeated, and all the Talaing cities freed from the Burman rule. Wakaroo then, on account of the real or alleged treachery of Tarabya, turned his arms against his former ally, defeated and made him prisoner. He thus became master of Pegu, and the whole southern Talaing country except Bassein was now again independent. Its subjection to the rule of the Kings of Pagan had lasted since the death of Teiktharaza, A. D. 781.

Wakaroo appears to have been a wise and fortunate sovereign, and after a reign of 22 years he was murdered by the two sons of Tarabya, whom he had generously brought up and cherished. This took place in the Burmese year 668, A. D. 1306. Konelaw, the brother of Wakaroo, succeeded. He was a weak and incapable Prince, and after a reign of 14 years was killed in a general conspiracy of the nobles and people. In his reign Donewoon, on the Beelin river, and Moulmein were captured by the Zimmay Shans. This is the first mention of Moulmein in history.

Sano, the nephew of the last King, assumed the vacant throne. During his reign of 14 years "the people enjoyed peace "and prosperity." He was succeeded by his brother Sanzeik, who after three years was murdered by Zeikpoon, an officer of his Shan guards.

Zeikpoon attempted to seize the throne, but Sandaminhla, the Queen, was supported by the nobles, and after seven days the usurper was put to death.

Sandaminhla then associated Sanaygangoung, a nephew of Sanzeik, with herself in the sovereignty. After a short reign of 29 days he was poisoned by the Queen, who then married Ehlaw, a son of Konelaw. He assumed the name of Byinnya Ehlaw.

In his reign a dreadful famine prevailed in the provinces of Martaban and Sittoung. He was succeeded after a reign of 22 years by Byinnyaoo, a son of Sanzeik.

This Prince assumed the title of "Sinbyooshin" (Lord of the white elephant). There is a romantic story connected with his marriage with a poor but beautiful damsel whom he raised to the position of chief Queen. In the third year of his reign a formidable invasion of the Zimmay Shans took place, and the towns of Sittoung, Tikekala, and several others were destroyed. The Shans were at last completely defeated.

The King in gratitude sent an embassy to Ceylon and procured a relic of Buddha, which he carefully enshrined in the Kyikepoon pagoda, which stands on the hill behind the town of Martaban.

Three years after this the white elephant, which had been presented by the King of Thokekaday to Wakaroo, the founder of the Martaban kingdom, died. In his eagerness to obtain another Byinnyaoo, on the report that a white elephant had been seen in the forest, left his capital and was absent in search of the animal for 14 months. On his return he found that Byattaba, the Governor of the city, had rebelled. The armies sent against the rebel were defeated. The King fixed his abode in Donewoon on the Beelin river, and remained there six years. At the end of that time the King's chief minister died and all the people of the town shaved their heads in token of grief. Byattaba took advantage of this, caused seven hundred soldiers to shave their heads in like manner, who mingling with the townspeople undetected suddenly seized the town. Byinnyaoo fled to Pegu and settled there, restoring the city.

The Native chronicle states:—"In the year 732 (A. D. 1370) "Sinbyooshin Byinnyaoo began reigning in Pegu. From the time "of King Teiktha the line of its Kings had been broken, and it "remained only a large village. But after Byinnyaoo became King it "was known as the great Razatanee country. At this time Minkyee-"zwa was King of Ratanapoora or Ava. The two Kings having met "on the frontier exchanged presents and a treaty of friendship."

On the death of Byattaba's son the people of Martaban and Donewoon shaved their heads in mourning, and Byinnyaoo's General turning the tables recovered possession of Donewoon by a stratagem like that by which it had been formerly taken from the King. After this Byattaba, although retaining possession of Martaban, acknowledged himself the vassal of the King of Pegu.

From this date the history of the Martaban kingdom merges in that of Pegu.

THE SHAN DYNASTY AND FOUNDATION OF AVA.—A. D. 1284—1555.

PREVIOUS to the destruction of the Pagan monarchy in A. D. 1284 the Tai race, of which the Shans form a branch, had been gradually forced out of their original seat in the province of Yunan by the advance of the Chinese power under the great Emperor Kublai Khan. It was about this time that a portion of this race, settled about the country of Zimmay, pressed by their brethren from the north, pushed southwards and formed the kingdom of Siam. Another portion advanced westward and settled in Assam. A large number had gradually emigrated from the eastern parts of Yunan into the upper valley of the Irrawaddy about Bamo. At this period they doubtless received large additions owing to the advance of the Chinese, and thus came to dominate the native Burman population in that part of the country.

After the deposition of Kyawzwa, the last King of Pagan, the three Shan brothers, who seemed to have held the whole power of the kingdom in their hands, divided the empire between them. A few years afterwards, by the death of one brother and the murder of the other, Theehathoo, the youngest, obtained the sole power.

He then founded a new city called Panya or Pinya. His son, who had been appointed Governor of the province of Sagaing, declared himself independent, so that for half-a-century two rival dynasties ruled, one at Pinya, the other at Sagaing.

In the year 726, A. D. 1364, Thadominbya, a young Prince of the Sagaing branch, conquered and put to death the two reigning Kings of Pinya and Sagaing, and thus united both kingdoms in his own person. He at once commenced to found a new capital, and the same year the city of Inwa or Ava was built. The sacred Pali name bestowed on it was Ratanapoora (the city of gems). Thadominbya is said to have been a direct descendant of the Burman Kings of Pagan, but there is no proof of this and the fact is very doubtful. At all events the Princes who ruled in Ava until its conquest by the King of Pegu in A. D. 1551 were of undoubted Shan extraction.

Thadominbya left no children, and Minkyeezwa, a Prince of the royal race, was elected to fill the throne, A. D. 1367. He entered into a treaty of friendship with Sinbyooshin, or Byinnyaoo, the King of Pegu.

On the accession of Razadeerit, the son of Byinnyaoo, war broke out between the States of Ava and Pegu. This was the commencement of the fierce struggle between the Burman and the Talaing races, which lasted with varying fortunes for two hundred years and ended in the ruin of the latter. Minkyeezwa reigned

thirty-three years, and was succeeded by his son Sinbyooshin, who was murdered after seven months. His brother, Mingoung, ascended the throne in A. D. 1401, and for twenty-one years his reign was occupied with constant wars with all the neighbouring kingdoms. Neither the Burman nor the Talaing State gained any permanent advantage in these struggles, which but served to exhaust their strength and render both an easy prey to some other rising power.

The petty kingdoms of Toungoo and Prome were also a constant source of trouble to the monarchs of Ava. Ruled generally by a younger son or brother of the King of that country these tributary Princes again and again, openly or by intrigues, sought to throw off their allegiance.

The son and grandson of Mingoung succeeded him. The latter, an infant, was murdered by a Shan Chief, who usurped the throne for seven months, when he in turn was put to death by the Sawbwa or Chief of Mohnyin, who claimed the throne as the representative of the royal family. He was succeeded by five Princes of his house, during whose reigns a series of petty wars took place with the rebellious provinces of the kingdom.

In the year 807, according to the Burman record, that is, A. D. 1445, the Chinese invaded the kingdom with a large army to demand the surrender of the Sawbwa of Mogoung as a rebel against the Emperor. After some hesitation the King of Ava agreed to give up his guest. But the Sawbwa took poison and died. His body was given up to the Chinese, who dried it with fire and took it away to present to their Emperor.

The Chinese histories confirm this account, though there is a difference of three years in the dates. They state that in A. D. 1438 "a certain Native (of Yunan) took the title of Fofa (Sawbwa), "which was that of the Kings of Yunan, and at first obtained several "successes over the Chinese arms. After diverse changes of for-"tune he was obliged to take refuge with the King of Burma in A. D. "1448. When he learnt that his host wished to deliver him up to "his enemies he committed suicide."

During the reign of Dooteeyamingoung the King of Toungoo became practically independent. The Ava monarch sent to the then ruler of Toungoo, Maha Theereezayathoora, the white umbrella and other regalia. This was the commencement of the Toungoo dynasty that was in a few years to become supreme in these countries.

The kingdom of Ava was now reduced to the position of a petty State, consisting of a small territory immediately round the capital. In the reign of Shwaynanshin Narapadee constant re-

bellions and invasions completely broke up the kingdom. At length the Sawbwa of Mohnyin attacked the city of Ava itself and the King was killed.

The Sawbwa placed his son Thohanbwa on the throne. This Prince reigned sixteen years and was murdered by his guards.

Three short reigns followed. In the last of these, that of Seethookyawdin, Ava was taken in A. D. 1555 by the King of Pegu and an end put to the Shan dynasty of Ava.

KINGDOM OF PEGU.—A. D. 1370—1542.

THE capital of the Talaing kingdom had been now fixed by Byinnyaoo at Pegu, which he improved and beautified. The rest of his reign appears to have been peaceful, and he was succeeded, A. D. 1385, by his son Razadeerit. This was one of the most warlike Kings of Pegu. His whole reign is a record of expeditions against the Burman monarch and his allies, or of battles fought in his own dominions to repel invaders. He conquered Martaban and Moulmein, and after a severe struggle Myoungmya, the Governor of which place, Loukbya, had become very powerful.

During one of his expeditions he suspected his eldest son of conspiring against him and had him put to death.

The King of Siam, impressed with the growing power of the Peguan State, sent an embassy to Razadeerit with a present of a white elephant. For a short time there was peace with Ava. But in the reign of Mingoung the contest again commenced. Razadeerit with an immense fleet and army proceeded up the Irrawaddy and laid siege to Ava. It is said that a learned and pious monk, by his representations of the wickedness of war and of the destruction of human life, prevailed on the victorious monarch to give up the siege and retire with his army to his own dominions. Before he left he broke up his golden warboats and with the materials erected a monastery at Shwaygyetyet below Ava.

Next year Razadeerit laid siege to Prome. Several minor engagements were fought in which success inclined first to one side and then the other. At length the two monarchs of Ava and Pegu had an interview on the great pagoda of Prome, in which they made peace and swore mutual friendship.

War, however, soon broke out again, and Mingoung, King of Ava, advanced with a large army to invade Pegu. At first he gained some slight success, but the Burmans were soon forced to retreat.

The history of the following years is a record of similar events. Neither nation gained any permanent advantage in these contests, which only served to weaken both and drained their very life blood. In A. D. 1413 the most formidable invasion that Pegu had sustained took place. The Crown Prince of Ava, Minrehkyawzwa, was General-in-Chief. He defeated the Talaing army in a great battle on both land and water and took their General, Thameinparan, a prisoner. Bassein and Myoungmya surrendered and Razadeerit alarmed for his own safety fled to Martaban.

At this time a Chinese army had attacked Ava. The Generals on both sides agreed to settle the dispute by a contest between their respective champions. The Talaing General, Thameinparan, who had been sent prisoner to Ava, chivalrously offered himself as the Burman representative, and in the combat slew the Chinese warrior. The invading army then retired.

In the meanwile the Talaing garrison of Dala had resisted all the assaults of the Burman forces. On the approach of the King with an army the Burman Prince retired followed by the Talaings. A pitched battle ensued, in which the Burmans were defeated and the Crown Prince received a mortal wound. Razadeerit caused his body to be interred with royal honours.

The next year King Mingoung again led an army against Pegu, but the expedition failed. After this the remainder of Razadeerit's reign was free from wars and he endeavoured to promote the prosperity of his people. He is said to have married a daughter of the King of Ceylon. He was killed accidentally while out elephant-hunting in A. D. 1421 after a reign of 38 years.

Dhammraza, the son of the last King, succeeded, but the authority was chiefly exercised by his two brothers, the elder of whom, Byinnyaraw, was made Crown Prince. Their sister, Sawbonemeh was given in marriage to the King of Ava. After three years, on the death of his brother by poison, Byinnyaraw succeeded to the crown.

During his reign hostilities again broke out between Pegu and Ava. They soon ceased and Byinnyaraw married a daughter of the King of Ava. The country appears to have been prosperous during his reign of 20 years.

The various copies of the Talaing histories differ in the dates of the several monarchs reigning in Pegu at this time, between 710 and 900, or A. D. 1370—1538. The discrepancies are not easy to reconcile, but do not seriously affect the record of the events which occurred. Three short reigns followed that of Byinnyaraw, *viz.*, those of Byinnyawaroo, of Byinnyakoon, and Byinnyamandaw. The last monarch was a cruel tyrant, and the whole of the people and nobles rose against him and put him to death.

There was now no male heir to the throne. It has been mentioned that the Princess Sawbonemeh sister of Byinnyaraw, had been married to the King of Ava. For some reason she had fled with the assistance of two ponegyees and returned to Pegu. She appears to have possessed great influence and was more generally known as Shinsawboo.

She was now entreated by all the nobles and people of the country to assume the sovereignty. She was consecrated Queen, and is called in some histories Byinnyadaw. During her reign Pegu attained to a high state of prosperity and remained undisturbed by war.

In order to provide a successor, one of the monks who had assisted the Queen in her escape from Ava was chosen, and having become a layman was made Crown Prince and married to the Queen's daughter. He assumed the name of Dhammazaydee. The Queen then placed him in charge of the kingdom and herself retired to Dagone (Rangoon), where the site of her palace is still pointed out, and her name still remains a household word in the mouths of the people.

This famous Queen died at Rangoon at the age of sixty-five and was succeeeded by Dhammazaydee. This King was famed for his wisdom, justice, and piety. Embassies from China, Ava, Siam, and Ceylon are said to have been received by him. Commerce with foreign nations increased. Pegu was visited by European merchants, who describe the power and magnificence of the King of Pegu. Although Dhammazaydee engaged in no wars, he extended the boundary of the kingdom across the Salween river, and founded the town of Yoon now called Hmainglonegyee. On his death he was honoured with all the ancient ceremonies supposed peculiar to a "Setkyawaday," or universal monarch. A part of these consisted in the erection of a pagoda over his ashes, gilt and 'tee'd,' or crowned, the same as the sacred pagodas for worship.

Byinnyaraw, the grandson of Queen Shinsawboo, succeeded. During his long reign of thirty-five years no events of any importance are recorded except an expedition made by the King at the head of an army up the Irrawaddy as far as Pagan. In the Talaing history this is said to have been a pilgrimage to the ancient pagodas. It was more probably the ostentatious march of an Eastern potentate to display his power. At this time Dooteeyamingoung was King of Ava, and that State had sunk to be little more than a petty principality.

On the death of Byinnyaraw in A. D. 1526, or A. D. 1530, according to another account, his son Tagárootpee, a youth of about fifteen, was placed on the throne.

LEGENDARY HISTORY

OF

BURMA AND ARAKAN

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